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SPECIAL BALLOT ISSUE

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OUTREACHER

FPA/JUNE 1980

GREAT DECISIONS 1980 OPINION BALLOTS

Final report on ballots tabulated as of May 1, 1980

For Immediate Release

- **The SALT II Treaty will help stabilize the competition in strategic weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union, thus lessening the danger of war.**
- **In conducting foreign policy during the past year, the U.S. government's attitude has been too weak.**
- **The U.S. should play a more direct role in maintaining security in the Persian Gulf, increasing its military capabilities there if necessary.**
- **In the Arab-Israeli conflict, the U.S. should press both Egypt and Israel to reach agreement on a Palestinian rights formula.**
- **The U.S. should not normalize relations with Vietnam until that country removes its troops from Cambodia and stops expelling its own citizens.**
- **We should tone down U.S. public pressure on Brazil's human rights policy.**
- **We should reduce oil imports during the next 10 to 15 years, even if this means changes in the way Americans live, and place primary emphasis on conservation in planning long-range U.S. energy policy.**

These are some highlights of the views expressed, with many dissents and qualifications, in a nationwide mailing of "Opinion Ballots" by participants in the Foreign Policy Association's annual **Great Decisions** program for 1980. Each ballot dealt with one of eight current foreign policy topics. Under each topic two or more issues are placed on the ballot, with participants asked to select for each issue the one option, among several offered, which comes closest to their own opinions.

A total of 50,080 ballots were tabulated, the highest number since the nationwide annual opinion ballot tabulation was instituted by FPA in 1976. Additional ballots received after the May 1 deadline are expected to raise the 1980 total above 60,000.

Great Decisions 1980 was the 26th in a series conducted by FPA nationwide each year since 1955. In 1976, and again in the three years 1978-80, **Great Decisions** received the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities for its attention to historical and other humanistic values in foreign policy. In 1980, more than 100,000 Americans across the nation joined in study and discussion of the topics, while many more heard radio and TV programs and read newspaper articles which focused on the **Great Decisions 1980** issues.

Participants in discussion groups study the pros and cons on each topic in FPA's **Great Decisions** annual and other available sources, and join in a discussion session on each topic. Typical participants evidently have more education and more exposure to international affairs than the national average. Those responding are far more likely than the average citizen to discuss foreign affairs with others and to be asked for their opinion on foreign affairs. Moreover, they are far more inclined than the average citizen to make their views known without being asked. To a question whether the participant had, in the past year, "communicated with some official or representative in Washington" on some foreign policy matter, an extraordinary 29% said yes in 1979.

This year the discussion groups met in the increasingly tense atmosphere engendered by the taking of American hostages in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan—events which may have influenced the responses on some issues.

The main themes emerging from the ballots received on each topic are summarized below. The texts of the eight ballots, with complete statistics on the responses tabulated, appear at the end of this report.

Topic 1: THE WORLD IN 1980:
An Uneasy Time for a Superpower

Overwhelmingly, participants in **Great Decisions** discussion groups in 1980 felt that the U.S. government's foreign policy attitude in the past year had been too weak. This feeling was much more widely held than when the same question was posed in the Association's survey in 1978. The change probably reflects, at least in part, a response to recent events in Iran and Afghanistan, and to prominent public debate over Soviet military capabilities.

Only 3% of participants in 1978, and 2% in 1980, thought the U.S. foreign policy stance had been too tough. In contrast, the number of those feeling it had been too weak, already a high 44% in 1978, shot up to 65% in 1980. Another 23% checked "about right." The remaining 10% gave more than one reply, indicating a more complex view than could be expressed in the choices given. A respondent from North Carolina, for example, described U.S. policy as "too unsure, too vacillating, not long-range enough, and too careless of contacts and assurances to our allies."

Paradoxically, respondents apparently do not associate the weakness they complain of with U.S. policy on two salient issues included in the survey, namely, the still-pending strategic arms (SALT II) treaty with the Soviet Union and U.S. conduct in the third world.

On SALT II, only 27% felt that the pending treaty would enable the Russians to achieve strategic superiority, whereas 39% looked on it—as does the Carter Administration—as helping to stabilize the superpowers' strategic arms competition and eventually to reduce strategic weapons arsenals, thus lessening the danger of war. Another 19% agreed with a third view, that the treaty would merely serve as a license for both sides to escalate the strategic arms race.

As for U.S. policy toward countries of the third world, an overwhelming 72% thought the primary consideration should be the effect on U.S. relations with each country, while only 18% chose the "tough" option of giving primary weight to the effect on the U.S. strategic competition with the Soviet Union.

If our foreign policy has been too weak, as most seem to feel, who can best strengthen it: the President or Congress? According to most of the ballots, the answer is not to reduce the President's foreign policy powers but rather to have him assert them more forcefully. Offered two options regarding the foreign policy process, 52% preferred to "reassert the preeminence of a strong President, able to resist congressional invasion of his policy responsibilities." Only 32% would prefer to continue the more active role which the legislative branch has recently played.

Topic 2: THE MIDEAST AND THE GULF:
U.S. Policy in Ferment

The more assertive foreign policy mood of most participants was visible with respect to the most volatile of recent foreign policy areas, the Persian Gulf. On a ballot listing three possible approaches to protecting U.S. interests in that area, 41% preferred to see the United States play a more direct role than hitherto in maintaining the region's security, and favored increasing U.S. military capabilities for this purpose. Only 24% were content to rely on building up the military capabilities of friendly powers in the region, and only 18% would have the United States limit its commitments in the region to the present level. Hesitancy as to the right policy, however, was visible in the comparatively high 18% who gave more than one answer or wrote in their own answers. One respondent from New Jersey, for example, wrote, "I'd qualify 'build up military capabilities' with 'seek the cooperation of the NATO powers in doing this.' We are not the only ones whose economy and welfare depend on the Persian Gulf for oil. . . . I have checked (a) and (b), in light of recent developments, both policies are necessary."

On the related issue of the Arab-Israeli dispute, a clear majority, 56%, favored a policy of working with both Egypt and Israel toward an agreed formula on Palestinian rights, pressing both sides when necessary to promote agreement. Only 20% preferred the option of pressing Israel for enough concessions on Palestinian rights to bring about comprehensive negotiations between Israel and its neighbors (which include Jordan, Syria and Lebanon as well as Egypt), while another 19% favored letting Egypt and Israel work to resolve the problem at their own pace.

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Topic 3: THE UNITED NATIONS at 35: Illusions and Realities

As the UN entered its 35th year, **Great Decisions** participants were asked to say what broad direction they think U.S. policy toward the world organization should take in the eighties and beyond. A bare majority (54%) stated their preference either for limiting U.S. commitments to the UN to their present level (32%) or for increasing them (22%). Although less than 3% favored outright U.S. withdrawal from the organization, 36% opted for selectively reducing participation in activities that conflict with U.S. objectives.

Not all those who show limited faith in the UN's present capabilities, however, have given up hope for an improved UN in the future. A North Carolinian, for example, checked "limit commitments to about the present level," but then wrote: "Work for changes that will make the UN more effective."

Overwhelmingly, respondents urged the U.S. to pursue a policy of negotiation with Third World countries rather than, as Daniel Patrick Moynihan and others have proposed, using the UN as an arena for hardhitting debate "with the aim of winning over a majority [of the Third World] to this country's economic and political principles." Offered a choice between these two alternatives, 78% opted for negotiation and only 15% for confrontation, with the remaining respondents proposing other solutions or a combination of the two alternatives.

Topic 4: EASTERN EUROPE: Emerging from Moscow's Shadow

The impact of Russia's invasion of Afghanistan and other recent East-West tensions appear to be reflected in the division of opinion on U.S. policy toward Moscow's Warsaw Pact allies in Eastern Europe. Although 45% of those completing **Great Decisions** ballots opted for a continuation of detente, urging that the U.S. should emphasize "stability and peace in relations with the Soviet Union, even if this means less U.S. influence in the affairs of the region," almost as many (41%) felt that the U.S. should compete with the Soviet Union for influence, "even at the risk of increased tension with the U.S.S.R." As one respondent from New Jersey, who opted for competition, put it: "We should do whatever possible to maintain the right of Eastern Europe to freedom."

On another issue, a large majority (61%) said that the primary goal of U.S. policy in Eastern Europe should be to encourage an independent foreign policy by the six countries of the region, rather than to influence their internal human rights policies. When asked whether trade with Eastern Europe should be used to obtain concessions on political issues, or should be conducted on its economic and commercial merits, an overwhelming majority (75%) preferred the latter course. (This contrasts with more evenly divided attitudes on restricting trade and credits to the *Soviet Union*; see Topic 5.)

Topic 5: HUMANITY ON THE MOVE: How Migration Affects Us

In balloting that took place before the recent influx of Cuban refugees into the U.S., opinion on issues of migration—especially of Mexicans—reflected a practical concern with consequences for American citizens. "Take as many as can be assimilated," wrote one Californian. "Where there are jobs they should be admitted."

Much opinion on migration occupies a middle ground between more restricted and more liberal policies. Just about half of those responding, for example, favored continuation of the present policy of admitting 14,000 a month from Indochina, while 29% would reduce that number and 9% would admit all who want to come. And although few (11%) would increase the quota for legal immigrants from Mexico, only 19% favored tightening border controls and deporting illegal aliens as a way of coping with the problem. The most popular option by far, endorsed by 52% of those responding, is to promote development in Mexico in order to slow emigration in the long run.

With respect to emigration from the Soviet Union, opinion was almost evenly divided between those who advocated an end to the linkage of U.S. trade policy with Soviet emigration policy (53%), and those who favored continuing to restrict trade and credits to the Soviet Union in an effort to bring about liberalization (42%). A main reason for preferring to end the linkage was the conviction that the policy is ineffective. One respondent from Pennsylvania observed: "I don't think trade restriction will work unless it is part of a world-wide policy."

Topic 6: BRAZIL'S RISING POWER: What Weight in the World Scale?

Great Decisions participants generally express a preference for regional rather than unilateral policies toward Brazil. For example, most respondents favored neither a U.S. policy that would leave Brazil free to develop a complete nuclear power cycle (endorsed by 16%), nor an alternative policy of urging Brazil to modify its nuclear development plans (endorsed by only 25%). Instead, 53% of the respondents said the United States should "work with both Brazil and Argentina to build a regional nuclear energy system with safeguards against the spread of nuclear weapons."

With respect to human rights violations in Brazil, an even larger majority (79%) urged the United States to "tone down its public pressure and leave the leadership to such organizations as the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights," while only 16% felt that the United States should continue its policy of speaking out forcefully on this issue. Disenchantment with the Carter Administration's earlier, more assertive policy toward Brazil, and toward Latin America generally, on human rights issues, appears to be reflected in comments such as: "Help them only if they ask us to" and "I think we should not interfere with Brazil about this."

Only with regard to future economic policy toward Brazil, where no regional alternative was offered, did a majority (54%) opt for increased U.S. commitment to Brazil's economic development, while only a third of the participants would leave Brazil's development needs to be met by other countries or by international business. However, many of those advocating an increased U.S. commitment appeared to share the view of the Californian who wrote: "Lower trade barriers and keep a low political profile."

Topic 7: VIETNAM AND ITS NEIGHBORS: Big Powers and Little Wars

Five years after the Communist victory in Vietnam, the United States has yet to normalize relations with the Hanoi government. Is it time for a change, or should we continue to "wait and see"? Questioned one year after the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia and at the height of world attention on Vietnamese refugees, 55% of **Great Decisions** participants said the United States should not normalize relations until Vietnam removes its troops from Cambodia and stops expelling its own citizens. However, another 30% urged normalization of relations as quickly as possible, without setting conditions. Only 7% would refuse to normalize relations under any conditions. The majority view of "wait and see" is summed up by a respondent from Ohio, who wrote: "We should normalize relations eventually but we should be in no hurry to do so. . . . We should be sure that the time we select for normalization is to our greatest advantage."

On the issue of U.S. aid to Vietnam, a majority (52%) preferred to let U.S. aid continue to flow indirectly, through international agencies, but to give no direct aid until Vietnam removed its troops from Cambodia and stopped expelling its own citizens. Nearly a quarter of those responding opposed aid through any channels until Vietnam met the two conditions outlined above. Smaller minorities backed simpler options: to give aid unconditionally (8%), and to give no aid under any conditions (10%).

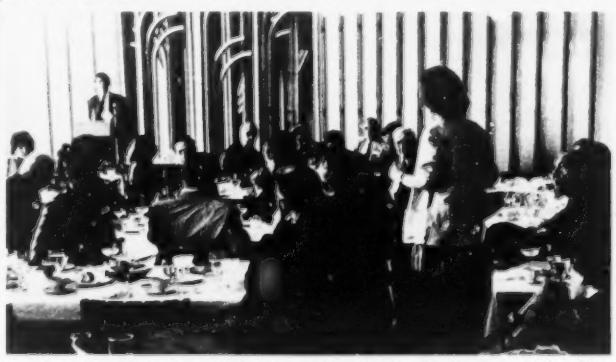
Topic 8: THE WORLD ENERGY CRUNCH: U.S. Choices—At Home and Abroad

Great Decisions participants were asked to rank-order seven alternative sources of energy "in the order in which you think the U.S. should emphasize them in its long-term energy future." Although conservation appeared fifth on the ballot, it garnered a resounding 51% of the first-place votes, followed at some distance by solar energy with 20%. Options gaining 12% or fewer of the first-place votes were domestic oil and gas, nuclear energy, synthetic fuels, coal, and—most unpopular of all—foreign oil and gas (1%).

Other ballot choices gave further strong proof of the desire to escape from dependence on imported oil. Fully 86% favored the option of reducing oil imports from abroad even if this requires a change in the American way of life, while only 5% felt that the U.S. should continue to import as much oil as might be needed to preserve the current way of life. Some 8% proposed "other" solutions, prominent among which was to develop alternative energy sources.

Since in the short run the United States will continue to be dependent on OPEC for at least some of its oil supplies, participants were asked to choose among a series of options on how to deal with OPEC. These ranged from the "soft" one of making concessions to the oil-exporting nations to the "tough" one of taking military action in order to keep the oil flowing. A majority (57%) chose the middle alternative—"make no concessions, but rely on economic and diplomatic pressure"—while 28% chose to make concessions and 6% opted for military action, if necessary.

A third energy issue centered on the predicament of the majority of developing countries (LDCs), still heavily dependent on OPEC oil at prices they can ill afford. Asked to rank-order a series of U.S. policies designed to ease the energy problems of the developing countries, 46% of **Great Decisions** participants gave first choice to helping such countries to develop alternative energy sources of their own. Reducing U.S. consumption of oil in order to reduce pressures on price and supply ran a close second, with 39% selecting this policy as their first choice. Neither of the other alternatives—helping such countries to finance deficits arising from rising OPEC prices, or negotiating with OPEC to reduce the price charged the developing countries—attracted more than 9% of the nominations for first place.



The Foreign Policy Association hosted the Spring Conference of The National Council of Community World Affairs Organizations in New York, May 20-23, 1980, at which some 45 major communities, including Alaska, were represented. Many of the World Affairs Councils sponsor Great Decisions, and their communities participate in the balloting process.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

Those who filled out opinion ballots were asked to give some information about themselves.

As is generally true of members of voluntary organizations, participants in the program are older on the average than the U.S. population. Only 36% of those responding were 45 years of age or younger (for comparison, about 55% Americans are between 18 and 45), and 46% were 61 or older. A somewhat larger proportion than last year, 47% compared with 42% in 1979, said that this was their first year in a **Great Decisions** discussion group, while exactly the same percentage as in 1979 (36%) reported participating for more than two years. Not surprisingly, those who filled out opinion ballots report, almost unanimously, that they discuss foreign policy matters often (44%) or sometimes (47%) with their friends or acquaintances. An extraordinary high percentage of the group—more than two thirds—qualify as foreign policy "opinion leaders," in the sense that they say they are asked for their opinion on foreign policy matters often (17%) or sometimes (53%).

Those taking part in the 1980 program were somewhat more likely than those taking part in 1978 to say that they had changed their minds as a result of participating in the program (40% vs. 36%), and somewhat less likely to say that they had not (35% vs. 38%). The remainder were uncertain or gave no answers.

Since the personal data questions were placed on the same ballot page as the options on the United Nations, it was possible to correlate the characteristics of respondents to their preferences on this one topic. Older participants, those who had taken part in **Great Decisions** for more than two years, those who said they often discuss foreign policy with others, and those who said they are often asked for their opinion about foreign policy—all these were more likely than the others to favor expanding the U.S. role in the UN (an option which drew 22% of the total). And the option of withdrawal from the UN, favored by only 3 percent of the total, drew somewhat more support from younger participants, first-time participants, and those who said they rarely discuss foreign policy with others. None of these differences was large, however, the range of difference being from 2 to 8 percentage points.

Characteristics of Participants in **Great Decisions**

1. How many years have you participated in the **Great Decisions** program (that is, attended one or more discussion sessions)?	
This is the first year I have participated	47%
I participated in one previous year also	17
I participated in more than one previous year	36
2. What is your approximate age?	
30 or under	24
31 to 45	32
46 to 60	18
61 or over	46
3. How often would you say you discuss foreign policy matters with your friends and acquaintances?	
Often	44
Sometimes	47
Hardly ever	9
4. How often are you asked for your opinion on foreign policy matters?	
Often	17
Sometimes	53
Hardly ever	30
5. One final question: Would you say you have or have not changed your opinion in a fairly significant way as a result of taking part in the **Great Decisions** program?	
Have	40
Have not	35
Uncertain	25

Opinion ballots have been included in FPA's annual **Great Decisions** since 1955, as a way to encourage participants to make their foreign policy views known to their Washington representatives and to the news media. Not until 1976, however, were opinion ballots from across the nation centrally collected, tabulated and analyzed, and the results made public by FPA in a special report. From 1977 to 1979 the editors were assisted in preparing the ballots, and in tabulation and analysis of the results, by Columbia University Professor W. Phillips Davison, and in 1980 by Dr. Eleanor Singer. Both are noted authorities on public opinion sampling.

In 1978, processing of the ballots made the transition from hand tabulation to the electronic era. Again this year, computerization of ballots received as of May 1 was performed by Calculogic Corporation, 2929 Broadway, New York, N.Y., which furnished printouts on which this report is based. Opinion ballots received after May 1 are being counted, but unless they alter trends shown in this analysis, a later report will not be issued.

This expression of views by participants in **Great Decisions 1980** who have voluntarily taken the time to study and discuss the issues, is of special significance to the nation's foreign policy decision-makers, and is being presented by the Foreign Policy Association to members of Congress and the Executive Branch. It also is available to the news media and to all interested citizens who wish to receive a copy. See order form.

Eleanor Singer served as FPA's consultant in the preparation of the Opinion Ballots for **Great Decisions 1980**, in the tabulation and analysis of the results, and in the writing of the present report. She succeeded W. Phillips Davison, who served in the same capacity from 1977 through 1979.

Dr. Singer is a senior research associate at Columbia University's Center for the Social Sciences. She received her doctorate in sociology, also from Columbia University, in 1966. For the past five years she has been editor of the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, the principal scholarly journal in the field of public opinion research. She has published numerous scholarly articles on public opinion and other sociological topics, and is co-editor with Herbert Hyman of *Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research*.

The Foreign Policy Association has carried out this national tabulation of opinion ballots as a public service. The results express the views of **Great Decisions** *participants, not those of the FPA, which is a private, nonprofit, nonpartisan educational organization and takes no position on issues of U.S. foreign policy.*

BALLOT STATISTICS

Topic 1: **THE WORLD IN 1980** — **BALLOTS TABULATED: 8,036**

	Percent
1. *THE SALT II treaty*	
a. Will help to stabilize the competition in strategic weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union, and eventually to reduce the strategic weapons arsenals on both sides, thereby lessening the danger of war	39
b. Will enable the Soviet Union to achieve superiority over the United States in strategic weapons, and therefore also in global political power	27
c. Will merely serve as a license for both sides to escalate the strategic arms race	19
d. Other (write-in)	11
(Checked more than one option)	(4)
2. *In its policies toward countries in the third world, the United States should give* **primary** *weight to:*	
a. The effect of such policies on the strategic competition between the United States and the Soviet Union	18
b. The effect of such polices on bilateral relations between each country and the United States	72
c. Other (write-in)	7
(Checked more than one option)	(4)
3. *In regard to the process by which foreign policy is made, the United States should:*	
a. Reassert the preeminence of a strong President, able to resist congressional invasion of his policy responsibilities	52
b. Continue the more active role which the legislative branch has recently played, letting Congress reflect shifts in the public mood until a new national consensus develops	32
c. Other (write-in)	10
(Checked more than one option)	(6)

	Percent (1980)	1978 Percent for Comparison
4. *In conducting our nation's foreign policy during the past year, the U.S. government's attitude, on balance has been:*		
a. *Too tough.*	*2*	*3*
b. *Too weak.*	*65*	*44*
c. *About right.*	*23*	*36*
(Checked more than one option)	*(10)*	*(17)*

Topic 2: THE MIDEAST AND THE GULF — BALLOTS TABULATED: 7,997

	Percent
1. With respect to the conflict between Israel and the Arab countries, the United States should:	
a. Press Israel to make sufficient concessions on the issue of Palestinian rights to make comprehensive peace negotiations possible between Israel and its neighbors	20
b. Work closely with Egypt and Israel, pressing both sides when necessary, to achieve agreement on a Palestinian rights formula within the framework of their bilateral peace treaty	56
c. Adopt a low profile and let Egypt and Israel work out their problems at their own pace	19
d. Other (write-in)	2
(Checked more than one option)	(3)
2. To protect U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf, the United States should:	
a. Play a more direct role in maintaining the security of the Persian Gulf and increase U.S. military capabilities for possible use in the region	41
b. Build up the military capabilities of friendly powers in the region	24
c. Limit its commitments in the region to the present level	18
d. Other (write-in)	7
(Checked more than one option)	(11)

Topic 3: THE UNITED NATIONS AT 35 — BALLOTS TABULATED: 6,681

	Percent
1. Regarding the extent of U.S. participation in the UN system, the United States should:	
a. Withdraw from the UN altogether	3
b. Selectively reduce its participation in activities that conflict with U.S. objectives	36
c. Limit its commitments to about the present level	32
d. Increase its commitments beyond the present level	22
e. Other (write-in)	6
(Checked more than one option)	(1)
2. Assuming the United States continues its participation in the UN system, its broad strategy should be to:	
a. Go into opposition, using the UN forum to expose fallacies put forward by spokesmen of the third world, with the aim of winning over a majority to this country's political and economic principles	15
b. Negotiate with countries of the third world on issues of importance to them in order to gain their support on issues that are important to this country	78
c. Other (write-in)	6
(Checked more than one option)	(1)

Topic 4: EASTERN EUROPE — BALLOTS TABULATED: 6,259

	Percent
1. In its basic policy toward Eastern Europe, the U.S. should emphasize:	
a. Stability and peace in relations with the Soviet Union, even if this means less U.S. influence in the affairs of the region	45
b. Competition with the Soviet Union for influence in the region, even at the risk of increased tension with the U.S.S.R.	41
c. Other (write-in)	10
(Checked more than one option)	(4)
2. In exerting what influence it has in Eastern Europe, the U.S. should:	
a. Seek primarily to influence the internal policies of the six countries with respect to human rights	29
b. Seek primarily to make the foreign policies of the six countries more independent of the U.S.S.R.	61
c. Other (write-in)	6
(Checked more than one option)	(5)
3. U.S. trade with Eastern Europe should be:	
a. Conducted primarily on its own economic and commercial merits	75
b. Used primarily as a lever to obtain concessions on political issues	16
c. Other (write-in)	4
(Checked more than one option)	(5)

Topic 5: HUMANITY ON THE MOVE — BALLOTS TABULATED: 5,954

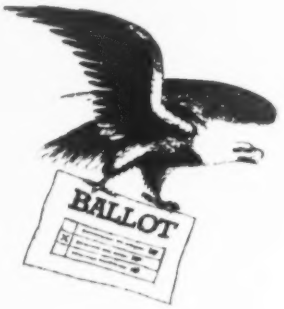
	Percent
1. With regard to Indochinese refugees, the United States should:	
a. Adopt an open-ended admissions policy, and admit all the refugees from Indochina who wish to come to the United States	9
b. Continue the present policy of admitting 14,000 refugees per month	51
c. Reduce the number of refugees admitted to the United States	29
d. Other (write-in)	10
(Checked more than one option)	(1)
2. With regard to emigration from the Soviet Union, the United States should:	
a. Continue to restrict trade and credits to the Soviet Union until that country liberalizes its emigration policies	42
b. End the linkage of U.S. trade policy with Soviet emigration policy, and rely on diplomacy to influence Soviet policy on granting exit visas	53
c. Other (write-in)	5

	Percent who ranked first*
3. In order to limit illegal immigration from Mexico and the Caribbean, the United States should rely primarily on (number from 1 to 4, in order of preference):	
a. Tighter border controls and increased deportation of illegal aliens	19
b. Tougher action against employers who hire illegal aliens	23
c. Promoting development in Mexico to slow down emigration in the long run	52
d. Increasing the quota for legal immigrants	11

*Adds to more than 100 because some gave first rank to more than one option

Topic 6: BRAZIL — BALLOTS TABULATED: 5,305

	Percent
1. In regard to Brazil's plan to develop a complete nuclear fuel cycle, the United States should:	
a. Not interfere with Brazil's nuclear development plans to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons	16
b. Continue to urge Brazil to modify its nuclear development plans to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons	25
c. Work with both Brazil and Argentina to build a regional nuclear energy system with safeguards against the spread of nuclear weapons	53
d. Other (write-in)	4
2. In regard to promoting human rights in Brazil, the United States should:	
a. Continue to speak out forcefully against human rights violations in Brazil	16
b. Tone down its public pressure and leave the leadership to such organizations as the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, supporting them through quiet diplomacy	79
c. Other (write-in)	2
(Checked more than one option)	(2)
3. In regard to future economic relations with Brazil, the United States should:	
a. Increase its commitment to Brazil's economic development, including a greater willingness to share U.S. technology and to lower trade barriers to Brazilian exports	54
b. Give no special emphasis to Brazil's development, leaving these needs to be met by Brazil through its relations with other countries and with international business	35
c. Other (write-in)	5
(Checked more than one option)	(6)



Topic 7: **VIETNAM AND ITS NEIGHBORS** **BALLOTS TABULATED: 5,104**

	Percent
1. In regard to diplomatic relations with Vietnam, the United States should:	
a. Not normalize relations until Vietnam removes its troops from Cambodia and stops expelling its own citizens	55
b. Normalize relations as quickly as possible, without setting conditions	30
c. Refuse to normalize relations under any conditions	7
d. Other (write-in)	8
2. On the issue of U.S. aid to Vietnam, the United States should:	
a. Give aid unconditionally to help restore the Vietnamese economy	8
b. Continue to let U.S. aid funds flow indirectly through international agencies, but give no direct aid until Vietnam removes its troops from Cambodia and stops expelling its own citizens	52
c. Give no direct aid, and oppose aid through international agencies, until Vietnam meets the conditions in (b) above	23
d. Give no direct aid, and oppose aid through international agencies, under any conditions	10
e. Other (write-in)	4
(Checked more than one option)	(3)

Topic 8: **THE WORLD ENERGY CRUNCH** **BALLOTS TABULATED: 4,744**

	Percent	Percent who ranked first*
1. In regard to oil imports, during the next 10 to 15 years the United States should plan to:		
a. Import as much oil as may be necessary to preserve the way Americans live	5	
b. Reduce oil imports, even if this requires changes in the way Americans live	86	
c. Other (write-in)	8	
(checked more than one option)	(1)	
2. Since it is probable that this country will have to import at least some oil from OPEC countries during the next 10 to 15 years, the United States should:		
a. Make concessions to the oil-exporting nations on issues of importance to them in order to keep the oil flowing	28	
b. Make no concessions, but rely on economic and diplomatic pressure to keep the oil flowing	57	
c. Make no concessions, but use military pressure, in addition to economic and diplomatic pressure, if this is necessary to keep the oil flowing	6	
d. Other (write-in)	9	
(Checked more than one option)	(1)	
3. With regard to problems faced by developing countries that must import oil, the primary objectives of U.S. policy should be to (number from 1 to 4, in order of your preference):		
a. Help them—through increased aid, trading opportunities, or both—to finance their deficits arising from escalating OPEC prices	9	
b. Help them develop alternative energy sources of their own	46	
c. Reduce pressures on price and supply by reducing U.S. consumption of oil	39	
d. Negotiate with OPEC to reduce the price charged the developing countries	9	
4. Rank the following sources of energy in the order in which you think the U.S. should emphasize them in its long-term energy future, from "1" (most emphasis) to "7" (least emphasis):		
a. Domestic oil and gas		12
b. Synthetic fuels		7
c. Nuclear energy		9
d. Solar energy		20
e. Conservation		51
f. Coal		4
g. Foreign oil and gas		1

*Adds to more than 100 because some gave first rank to more than one option.

Joseph Candiotti, Pacific Lutheran University Foreign Area Studies Lecturer, leads **Great Decisions** study group meeting at McChord Air Force Base, Tacoma, Washington, with C-130 aircraft landing in background.

Carmine Pettricione, *The Bernardsville News*

One of several **Great Decisions** groups in Somerset Hills, New Jersey, which met to discuss the 1980 topics.

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